

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME XI

16 JANUARY 1960

NUMBER

235

BEOGRAD

Published by:
THE FEDERATION OF
YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

Chief Editor and Director
MILORAD MIJOVIĆ

Price per copy: 16 cents

Issued twice a month

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STATUS QUO ANTE... BUT WHOSE AND WHERE?

by Janez STANOVNIK

Director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics

UNTIL very recently, strength was measured in the world by the number of divisions, fighting squadrons, hydrogen bombs and submarines. This method of measuring was part and parcel of the policy of „positions of strength“, the arms race and the cold war.

With the changes in world affairs, however, a different picture has been appearing more and more frequently in the measuring of strength in the world:

There are 2.790.000.000 people on our planet today. Of this number, 20.5 per cent are in the industrially developed capitalist countries, 37.5 per cent in the countries of the „socialist camp“, and the remaining 42 per cent in the economically under-developed countries.

The annual value of the world output is estimated at approximately 1.200 billion dollars, 60 per cent of which is accounted for by the industrially developed capitalist countries, 25 per cent by the „socialist camp“ countries, and only 15 per cent by the economically under-developed countries.

About 270 million tons of steel is produced in the world annually; 180 million tons in the industrially developed capitalist countries, about 80 million tons in

the „socialist camp“ countries, and about 10 million tons in the economically under-developed countries.

Seventy-five per cent of the total annual output of electricity in the world — which comes to 1.762 billion kwh — is generated by power plants in the industrially developed capitalist countries, 20 per cent in the „socialist camp“ countries, and only 5 per cent in the economically under-developed countries.

There is no end to these and similar comparisons. They are an indication that in manpower and economic potential the two blocs are drawing increasingly closer, whereas the economically under-developed and non-bloc countries, which constitute the majority of mankind, lag far behind in economic potential.

Such comparisons are the basis of the political philosophy of „competitive coexistence“, whose basic idea may be explained briefly as follows:

Atomic war is not a solution, as it leads to mutual annihilation. Accordingly, it is necessary to reach agreement on the status quo in all the spheres in which a possible conflict might lead to an atomic war. At the same time an agreement which provides for „free compe-

tition between the two systems" in "no man's land", that is, in the economically under-developed countries, should be reached. This competition should primarily be economic, but later also ideological in character. The winner in this competition will tip the balance of forces between the two blocs decisively in his favour and — though this philosophy does not say so openly — the world will be his...

At first sight, such a policy might seem only profitable to the economically under-developed countries. *Duobus litigantibus tertius gaudens!*

Wherever there is competition, however, there is also the question of how and by what means its outcome will be measured. Will the measure be the rate of economic development of the under-developed countries? Or the increase in per capita income in these countries? Or perhaps the achieved level of industrialization? The protagonists of this philosophy are not specific on these points. They do however state clearly that the instruments of economic aid to the economically under-developed countries should be bilateral or, in other words, that both economic blocs or, as they put it, economic "systems" should organise their own instruments for aiding the economically under-developed countries. They are resolutely against the wish of the economically under-developed countries to receive this aid primarily through the United Nations, in which not only must the interests of both blocs be co-ordinated, but those of the economically under-developed countries themselves must inevitably be taken into account on the basis of equality. If the competition is to be judged according to who helps these countries to a greater degree and more unselfishly, why should the United Nations be by-passed.

In the first place because the philosophy of "competitive coexistence" is still permeated by the theory that aid should be used to win political friends and allies. Experience of the past ten years might have given a convincing proof — to the one and the other bloc alike — that the friendship and independence of the economically under-developed countries are not for sale. Bilateral programmes, having been put into practice by a large number of technical and administrative experts or "missionaries of the alliance", have frequently resulted in the revolt of the masses, and not in the consolidation of friendship.

Because the philosophy of "competitive coexistence" is still permeated with the theory that aid should serve to strengthen the economic institutions which will organically link the recipient country with the "world market", that is the world economic system. While one side insists that aid to economically under-developed countries should create a "favourable climate" for private investment and the functioning of the private enterprise system in them, the other insists that economic aid should strengthen the "State sector" in the economies of the under-developed countries. They try to present the competition as a struggle between the "private" and the "public" — that is the State sector — in economically under-developed countries, instead of the two systems proving on their own grounds what rate of productivity they can achieve.

Because the philosophy of "competitive coexist-

ence" still claims that economic competition between the "two systems" in the economically under-developed countries should lead to such a tipping of world balance as would make it possible for one side to win. With this, however, the entire philosophy becomes contradictory. The basic evil does not lie in the existence of hydrogen bombs, but in the policy which leads towards their possible use. And what will be the result if an attempt is made to pursue the same policy by new means?

If the philosophy of "competitive coexistence" is to be turned into a new world-wide policy, obviously it will not bring about a permanent lessening of the threat of war in the world. What then?

The philosophy of "competitive coexistence" is evidently only a variant of the theory of coexistence of blocs. An analysis of this philosophy reveals the contradictory character of these concepts. That the status quo should be recognized in one part of the world, and the "free competition" started in another, is no solution of the present problem. The obvious solution is that all without exception should have the status of full equality. The solution lies in the denunciation of any domination, even of any attempt at domination over a smaller or weaker nation. The solution lies in the realization that the world will not be saved by division into "two systems" or ideologies, but only if all nations are allowed or enabled to develop naturally towards such national institutions as best suit their peculiar conditions. The solution lies in the realization that every nation in the world will benefit if the economically under-developed countries are helped to achieve more rapid economic development; just as all of us benefit from peace, which is not a "bilateral" product, the whole mankind will benefit from help to the economically under-developed countries, which would be a multilateral and universal product.

Both systems will show their advantages to the under-developed countries to the extent of their being capable of realizing the principle of active coexistence between nations and states, which recognizes the right of each country to equality and an independent life.

Over 750 million people have freed themselves from the colonial system, not in order to become involved in a different "system", but to win a free and independent life. The problem of the under-developed countries is the fundamental problem of our civilization. That is precisely why we must settle it in keeping with the basic achievements of civilization, and not turn it into a cause of new conflicts.

The under-developed countries are nobody's "small change" or "open hunting ground". They have already proved their individuality. To-day they are the backbone and the most ardent champions of the United Nations. It is there that they combine their forces in the struggle for peace, equality and economic progress. Although these countries are still under-developed economically, world policy must take into account their manpower and their moral and political strength. Thus there can be no status quo in the world to-day without them, or at their expense.

Questionnaire on Economic

Co-operation

Jacques van Offelen

Belgian Minister of Foreign Trade

Bearing in mind the exceptionally significant role of economic co-operation and international trade in the wellbeing of peoples and in the creation of better living conditions in the contemporary world, our Review sent the following questions to the foreign trade ministers of a number of countries, inviting their replies:

1. During recent months there has been a relaxation of tension in the world. In what measure, in your opinion, can the improvement of atmosphere in international relations stimulate various forms of economic co-operation, especially the strengthening of trade relations?

2. What significance do you attach to the tendencies of regional integration, and what would be the effect of the integrated areas on the development of world trade as a whole?

3. What can you tell us of the present state and prospects of trade co-operation between your country and Yugoslavia?

In this number we publish the answers supplied by Jacques van Offelen, Belgian minister of foreign trade.

Satisfactory Development of Co-operation between the Benelux Countries and Yugoslavia

EVERY abatement of international tension may have a positive effect on the development of trade relations between countries with a liberal trade and those whose foreign trade is managed by the State. In point of fact, frequent meetings between buyers and sellers increase the prospects for the conclusion of business deals. In view of the fact that there are few restrictions on private enterprise in the Western countries, the extent to which they will be able to meet Western supply and demand, the actual volume of business, depends on the Eastern trading organizations.

* * *

REGIONAL integration, which seems to extend also to the other parts of the world according to the West European model, is an economic necessity. This is the road to be followed in order to ensure the modern means of production such markets as the enormous volume of their output require. Favouring the division of labour, concentration, expansion and variety of enterprises, regional integration will lead to an increase of labour productivity. The rise of the standard of living ensuing therefrom will contribute in turn to the expansion of the international exchange of goods, both within the regional groups and between countries without any special ties.

* * *

THE BENELUX Economic Union and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia are bound by the following international instruments:

a) a Trade Agreement concluded between the Belgian-Luxembourg economic union and the Kingdom of Holland on the one side and the Federal People's Republic of Yu-

goslavia on the other and the letters attached signed in the Hague on June 18, 1958:

This agreement concluded for a one-year period has been tacitly prolonged until June 30, 1960.

b) a Payments Agreement concluded between the Belgian-Luxembourg Union and the Kingdom of Holland on the one hand and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia on the other hand, signed in the Hague on June 18, 1958.

No term of validity for this agreement was set so that it is still effective.

It should be mentioned in this context that under the clauses of the Benelux-Yugoslav Trade Agreement, the Benelux countries extend a liberal treatment to imports of Yugoslav goods with one or two exceptions, in accordance with the decisions of the European Organization for Economic Cooperation.

The following figures illustrate the development of trade between our countries during the past few years.

| In millions of Belgian francs | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 Jan.-June |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------|
| Imports to the Benelux | 159.533 | 233.978 | 281.731 | 90.474 |
| Exports to Yugoslavia | 183.013 | 234.121 | 322.389 | 160.068 |
| Balance in favour of the Benelux | 23.480 | 143 | 40.658 | 69.594 |

As seen, trade is increasing steadily from year to year. Trade in the first half of 1959 was concluded with a balance of about 70 million Belgian francs in favour of the Benelux.

Notwithstanding the growth of trade, export from the Benelux account for only about 0.9 per cent of total Yugoslav imports (1958 import statistics).

The staple export items consisted of dyestuffs, artificial fertilizer, sea-going ships and various machines and spare parts.

As for Yugoslav deliveries to the Benelux, they accounted for 1.3 per cent of total Yugoslav exports in 1958: the principal Yugoslav exports to Belgium and Luxemburg consisted of farm products (hops, tobacco, cereals, wine and horsemeat) as well as sawn timber.

The visit of the Belgian trade mission to Yugoslavia last spring also provided tangible proof of the good relations between our two countries. Convinced of the importance of the Yugoslav market an industrial group decided to establish a permanent commercial bureau in Beograd.

It may therefore be reasonably predicted, in view of the mutual goodwill shown, that trade between our two countries will continue to develop smoothly.

World and United Nations

Sivert Nielsen

Head of the Norwegian Permanent Mission in the U.N.

U.N.O. as Irreplaceable Instrument of Peace and Mediation

In view of the great significance of the United Nations for international peace and the promotion of co-operation among nations the Review of International Affairs sent the following questions to heads of permanent missions in the United Nations:

1 In the post-war world, traversed by bloc barriers, the United Nations has, indisputably, been carrying out a useful mission. How do you appraise the efforts made hitherto by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace in the world, and in the sphere of international cooperation?

2 What, in your opinion, is the role of the non-bloc countries in work of the United Nations?

3 At this moment, how would you describe the basic international problems in whose solution the United Nations might play a significant part?

In this number we publish the answers given by Sivert Nielsen, head of the Norwegian Permanent Mission in United Nations.

I

IN SPITE of the absence of the means of enforcement envisaged in the Charter, the United Nations has played a significant rôle in the maintenance of peace and security.

It has i.a. proved itself to be an effective instrument of mediation and conciliation under Chapter VI of the Charter.

Over the last few years, certain local situations have suddenly flared up to become conflicts of general international concern. In such conflicts, the immediate availability of the United Nations as a mediator and conciliator has been of decisive importance in the efforts to halt or prevent developments which might have had grave world-wide consequences.

The Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly on the crisis in the Middle East in 1958 was a

striking example of how effectively a situation of this kind may be dealt with through the United Nations.

It should always be realized, however, that the United Nations in the field of mediation and conciliation can never do more than its members are willing to do. The failure or the success of the United Nations' processes of peaceful settlement depends entirely upon the willingness of the governments concerned to call on or at least to accept the assistance of the world organization, and then upon their willingness to accept compromise solutions. While these conditions tend to limit the strength of the United Nations, they do, at the same time, constitute a strong inducement against adopting extreme positions and advocating inequitable solutions.

It is my hope that the course of events will permit the United Nations to develop into an ever more effective instrument of mediation and conciliation. It certainly gives reasons for optimism that Member States to an increasing degree have turned to the United Nations when faced with problems which they have felt unable to solve by the processes of traditional diplomacy.

It should, however, at all times be remembered that the United Nations was never intended to be a substitute for the normal procedures of bilateral, regional or other forms of traditional diplomacy.

II.

ONE OF the most interesting features of the international scene during the last few years has been the increasingly important rôle played by small and middle-sized powers in the efforts to reduce tension and to find solutions of concrete problems. Especially in the United Nations, small powers have time and again been called upon to assist in the settlement of disputes which have not been of their own making.

In situations where the United Nations has to seek the assistance of Member States to carry out its decisions and recommendations some States are, according to the circumstances, more available and acceptable than others. Because of their world-wide interests and commitments and the projection of the East-West tension into almost every situation the big powers are seldom in a position to act on behalf of the collective membership of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Without being less responsible in their policies small states are less likely than the big powers to have any direct interests at stake in a dispute outside their own region. They are, therefore, less bound by considerations of prestige and more likely to be accepted by the parties concerned because of the absence of any direct or indirect involvement on their part.

In my view, small powers can promote the interests of international peace and security in no better way than by placing their services at the disposal of the United Nations when called upon to do so. By contributing troops to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, Yugoslavia and Norway have proved that they are prepared to fulfil their responsibilities as Member States. to the best of their means.

III.

IN MY OPINION, the greatest challenge facing the United Nations today is the problem of assisting dependent people to achieve self-determination and to secure their full integration in the world community. History may well conclude that the emerging of new independent states in Asia and Africa was the most significant development of our times.

The tasks of the United Nations in ensuring a peaceful fulfilment of the objectives of the movement for self-determination fall into three stages.

In the first stage, the job of the United Nations is to supervise the processes leading towards self-determination; to see to it that the processes are never slower than the conditions allow and never so fast that they will endanger the achievement of the final objective. If necessary, the United Nations has to apply the brake as well as the accelerator to produce steady and balanced progress in the direction prescribed by the Charter.

In the second stage, the main task of the United Nations is to ensure that the actual act of self-determination is carried out under fair and just conditions. This it can do i.e. by supervising elections and plebiscites and by subjecting their results to international discussions and approval.

In the third stage, the task of the United Nations is to assist the newly independent peoples in laying the foundations for a healthy growth in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, and thus in fulfilling their duties and responsibilities as members of the United Nations. It is clearly in the interest of the world community as a whole that the new states are enabled to take an active part in all aspects of the work of the United Nations and that they become parts of the give-and-take processes which constitute the practical expression of the ideals and provisions of the Charter.

I think I am justified in saying that the United Nations has succeeded fairly well in carrying out its tasks in the first two stages. Through the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council and other bodies the United Nations has established a machinery which, if used with moderation and common sense, will enable us to achieve a final and peaceful solution of the problems involved in the processes of self-determination.

In the third stage, a good start has been made but hardly anything more. Especially in the field of economic development there is a wide gap between the expectations and the actual performance. Norway has always advocated increased responsibility for the United Nations in channelling economic and technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries. We would like to see a further development of the Organization's rôle both as initiator, guide and a co-ordinator of aid programmes.

The discussions of increased economic and technical aid have usually been tied up with the prospects for disarmaments. The Norwegian Government has, for its part, made it clear that it would give sympathetic consideration to proposals to devote a share of its savings resulting from internationally agreed disarmament to economic aid to the less developed areas of the world.

In the Charter, the big powers were given the main responsibility for maintaining peace and security. Their disability to cooperate to this end has so far left the United Nations without the means of enforcement which the Charter has intended to place at its disposal. The United Nations has, however, shown a remarkable ability to adjust its functioning to the existing realities, above all through its development as an instrument of mediation and conciliation. Thus it has, after all, been able to satisfy the desires of the peoples of the world for a viable international organization.

Certain developments during the 14th General Assembly seem to indicate that there now exists on the part of the big powers a most gratifying tendency to seek new forms of cooperation through the United Nations. This tendency has already resulted in agreements on the institutional framework for the further consideration of the questions of disarmament and the peaceful uses of outer space. If it were also to result in progress in the efforts to solve the basic issues there would really be hopeful prospects for international peace and security.

To our readers

The editors of the "Review of International Affairs" kindly request our readers to send their observations, wishes and objections concerning the general conception of the review, the amount of space allotted to the individual columns and subjects especially those relating to the Yugoslav reality, the treatment of individual subject and quality of the articles, style, language etc., to the editorial office, Beograd, Jovanova 16. The editors thank the readers in advance for the valuable assistance thus extended.

INDIA'S SECOND DECADE

by Dj. JERKOVIC

TEN YEARS ago, on January 26, the first Constitution of independent India was proclaimed, introducing a regime with republic institutions in the country. Although prior to that India had existed as an independent country for a number of years and decided to retain her membership of the Commonwealth under her own conditions, the day of the proclamation of the Republic marked the birthday of modern India and her appearance in the contemporary family of nations, in which, during only one decade of independent life, she has succeeded in winning a prominent place.

One decade is a short period even in the life of an individual, let alone that of a nation, from which to draw conclusions or formulate prospects on the basis of experience and achievements. But the emergence and the first steps of independent India coincided with a period of very stormy and rapid developments in the world, so that even the brief span of one decade can provide a sufficient number of facts from which to draw at least an approximate picture of present-day India and her possible future.

In the first moments of independent life, this country was been confronted with tasks and problems whose acuteness and proportions had no precedent in the past. It was necessary immediately to provide enough bread and food in general, to tackle the problem of starvation and the lack of the basic necessities of life for many millions of people. The country approached these tasks by introducing its first measures, in particular its First Five Year Plan of Economic Development, which naturally also included other branches of national economy, but with special emphasis on agricultural production, i.e., the production of foodstuffs, so that the country might be relieved from the heavy burden of its worst evil as soon as possible.

The First Five Year Plan made a near approach to this target, so that it was possible in the Second Plan to shift the emphasis to the development of modern industry, to the carrying out of an industrial and technical revolution in which, from the very beginning, Nehru saw the key to the all-round transformation of the country on an advanced and modern basis, which was the aim of his life. On her way along this path, the country has achieved significant results during the past decade. And since at the same time special attention has been devoted to scientific and technical institutions and development, modern India can now rightly claim that she is advancing steadily in all fields of activity, which should bring about a fundamental change in her outlook in a comparatively short time.

During the past decade, planned economy and a considered general national policy were effective and successful in settling the country's national problems. In national composition, India crossed the threshold of independence as a heterogeneous mosaic, and for this reason the State was organised on a federal basis. What is particularly interesting and instructive is that, in India's case, her all-out efforts to overcome the remnants of colonialism and feudal misery and backwardness, are conceived in terms of a bold and unprejudiced policy. While attempting to settle the problems of the country, this policy makes use of the most progressive experience, and particularly socialist experience in other parts of the world. Before he came to power, Nehru formulated the

conviction — which he has consistently demonstrated and tried to put into practice in his own country — that in the present-day world, socialism is the best and, particularly for the under-developed countries, the only possible way out, the only formula for a solution of their fundamental problems, provided that it is conceived of as a living and creative ideology, and applied realistically, in conformity with the concrete and specific conditions of the actual situation in a particular country.

The attitude of independent India towards the outside world, her standpoint and activity in international relations, result directly from these internal processes, and the country's internal political programme. In this respect India may serve as a rare and happy example, clearly and simply confirming the correctness of the well-known theory that the foreign policy of a country is a reflection of its internal policy, that is, that the former results from the latter.

The first thing which independent India, on her first steps in the world, emphasized as her immediate and long-term aim was peace, and co-operation with all nations and countries without exception in the interest of peace in the world. She has remained true to this aim ever since, the only difference being that now, with every step she makes, she takes an increasingly firm attitude and position. Continuing along the lines of the country's deeply rooted philosophy according to which force and violation must be eliminated from human relations and the relations between nations, India has subjected her external relations and activity to the cause of peace to such an extent that there have at times been misunderstandings or wrong conclusions abroad, as well as doubts concerning the feasibility of such a policy, or its efficacy in a definite situation. There have been faint-hearted people in India herself who preferred to yield to or join the strong and powerful, as well as opportunists who did not want the country to declare herself actively and independently in complex international relations and thus assume great moral and political responsibilities.

Bearing in mind, however, that her fundamental aims of internal development can be realized and her lately acquired independence consolidated only in conditions of lasting peace, and that the wished-for progress of the country can be secured only in the atmosphere of peaceful international co-operation, Nehru, with impressive consistency and significant personal power, has brought India out to the world and made her the advocate and champion of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Starting with the proclamation of the five Panch Sila principles governing relations between neighbours, and activity in the spirit of these principles within the Colombo group of nations — India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, Nehru greatly contributed towards creating the conditions necessary to hold the Bandung Conference. At this Conference, the principles of active coexistence were proclaimed and accepted as political practice by most of the independent Asian and African countries.

Living and acting in conditions created by the policy of the two blocs, which aimed at division of the world in terms of the cold war and contained the constant threat of a shooting war, Nehru's India has resolutely refused to join any bloc formation or to link herself with any such policy.

By proclaiming the principle of non-alignment, she has in fact opposed the bloc policy and helped to create a world-wide zone of peace, which would first localize and moderate the cold war between the blocs, and at a later stage make it possible gradually and finally to eliminate it; this would create conditions for the elimination of the blocs as the instruments of both the cold and the shooting war. In this connection, India has always put great hopes in the United Nations, and in action within and through the medium of this Organisation which, thanks to the efforts and initiative of the non-aligned countries, and to the very prominent role of India herself, have vitally contributed towards delivering the world from many serious crises and trials.

The new trend in East-West relations, whose beginning dates only a few years back, brought about serious changes in these relations during 1959. Step by step, the cold war is yielding to the policy of negotiation and a common effort to find solutions for outstanding problems and disputes. It is more or less generally recognized that the part which the non-bloc, independent policy played in these developments was significant, and sometimes even decisive, since the moral and political weight and action of the independent countries in bloc conflicts and combinations contributed considerably to the fact that common sense and the international responsibility of the biggest powers prevailed in the end. India's role in this, in view of her size and because of Nehru's soundly elaborated and practised non-bloc policy, was so significant that this development would have been almost unthinkable without her.

It is therefore natural that the year in which the non-bloc policy affirmed itself so vigorously in the world should at the same time mark what is probably India's highest achievement in international affairs. The heads of the biggest powers of the East and the West visited India during 1959 or are due to visit her this year, as equals, recognising her past contribution to the policy of peace, and soliciting her good will and co-operation.

It is true that last year was also marked by certain changes in India's internal relations which were a considerable threat to the continuance of India's general policy, the more so as they found justification and inspiration in border disputes with adjacent China, and, in fact, during 1959 attempts at organized resistance to the continuance of the progressive home policy pursued by Nehru's Government were more apparent than in previous years. They were accompanied by attempts to use the situation which resulted from the dispute with China to discredit the policy of independence by compelling or inducing the Government to seek a way out of the difficulty by attaching itself to a bloc, or by renouncing its independent position. Last year the world followed with anxiety these trends in such a decisive centre of independent world policy as India. But the efforts of Nehru and of the progressive national forces which follow him in resisting onslaughts from any side were welcomed with relief everywhere. Thanks to the success of these efforts, the Indian Republic is entering the second decade of its existence with the position of its enlightened home policy still further strengthened while, judging by all the signs, its international stature is greater than ever.

Indefatigably blazing new paths, India has played the role of a genuine pioneer in framing a non-bloc, independent world policy and in spreading it throughout the Afro-Asian region, during the years of the cold war between the East and the West. There are indications that this large country, guided by the sure hand of Nehru and the progressive forces around him, will fulfil a similar mission in the orientation

of the general advance and internal development of the numerous Afro-Asian countries which are troubled by similar problems; and they should find India's experience useful and her solutions encouraging.

The tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Indian Republic coincides with the tenth year since the establishment of full diplomatic and economic relations between our two countries. Despite the geographical distance between them, the two countries have drawn extremely close to each other in all fields during this short period and developed happy and fruitful co-operation in the field of international activity, both within and outside the United Nations. The basic trend of the further development of these relations points to the existence on both sides of interest in and conditions for the general extension of co-operation, including those regular exchanges of experience which are so significant. In content and effect, these relations transcend the narrow limits of the usual relations between two countries for however different and remote, they are drawn close by the fact that they are following kindred aims in internal development, and are guided by similar or identical aspirations in their foreign policy.

The people of Yugoslavia not only note the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the friendly Indian Republic with a real feeling of satisfaction, but they do so all the more happily as this occasion marks a decade of really fruitful, sincere and comprehensive co-operation between the two countries, which are devoting all their forces to the service of peace and independence for all peoples in all parts of the world.

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Foreign subscription: 10.500 Italian lire.*

Issued by:

**ISTITUTO PER GLI STUDI DI
POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE**

Via Clerici 5.
Milano
(Italy)

Legal Aspects of Disarmament

by Dr. Milan BARTOŠ

IT IS VERY difficult to speak of the legal aspects of the disarmament problem or, more accurately, the problem of limitation of armament. In classic international law there was a rule that any sovereign State was privileged to declare war. Classification of wars into permissible and impermissible, justified and unjustified, offensive and defensive was theoretical, not legal. On principle any State was entitled to enter into war for reasons of its own. It was the discretionary right of States but, of course, it was conditioned by political wisdom, the balance of power and the prospects of military success. From a purely juridical point of view, the right to make war was a component part of the attributes of a sovereign State.

Neutrality as a barrier to the exercise of the right to wage war was an exception. A neutral State did not dare to start a war, but it was entitled to defend itself and, accordingly, to arm. Such was generally the case in Europe, up to the First World War, with Switzerland, Belgium and, juridically, Luxembourg, the only permanently neutral countries.

EFFORTS TO LIMIT ARMAMENT AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

THE PROBLEMS of limiting armament had cropped up here and there in the pre-First World War period, as a phenomenon in international law. Various clauses were imposed by treaty, usually on the vanquished countries, which affected the right of those States to full, equal and discretionary armament. The defeated side had to establish demilitarized zones, in which all military installations were barred, and in which no military contingents whatsoever were to be maintained. Cases were recorded when the defeated side undertook not to keep weapons of a particular type or gauge, yet all these were individual and usually passing obligations, which disappeared with time.

From the problem of limited armament, which is a component part of the right to make war, one should distinguish the so-called humanitarian rules of international law, which barred certain types of weapons or missiles, and regulated the conditions under which use of individual combat means was permitted. Such provisions did not preclude states from arming nor from stockpiling the weapons and ammunition which were prohibited, but it required the states to oblige themselves not to make use of such armament, or not to use it, under specific circumstances, against other signatory-states of the treaties introducing such a ban or limitation during the term of such a treaty obligation. The State so committed, however, was authorized to use such armament against other states if they violated the obligations of the relevant treaty, since, according to the concepts of that

time, the prohibited weapons, or at least some of them, could be employed to retaliate against an enemy who did not abide by the ban.

The Treaty of Versailles marked a turning-point in the theory and practice of the right to wage war and the question of armaments. Its preamble noted that Germany had been responsible for the First World War. This meant that the right to start war was being investigated and appraised. That responsibility did not remain theoretical. In the place of contributions, reparations were introduced, on the principle of guilt. Besides this, a list was drawn up of war culprits who had provoked the War, and of the war crimes committed by Germany during the War; and, more important still, limitation of armament was introduced for Germany which included disbandment of the former army, the prohibition to form a new army, abolition of general conscription and recruiting of soldiers on a voluntary basis, as well as limitation of the numbers and armaments of the future German army, a ban on the production and possession of weapons and military equipment, and the creation of demilitarized zones. This, of course, constitutes a good example of limitation of armament — a limitation, however, which Germany did not comply with for long. Nonetheless, such rules of the Versailles system were carried over to other treaties with the former enemy, which were concluded in the country near Paris, after the First World War.

A far broader basis for disarmament, or limitation of armaments, was provided in the Pact of the League of Nations. This Pact in itself represented an instrument that went further for, without abolishing the right of states to make war, it introduced a procedural restraint over the exercise of that right by states, stipulating that they should apply either to the Court or the Council of the League of Nations for settlement of disputes, as well as that states might not proceed to personal settlement before the expiration of 60 days from the date when the matter at issue was placed before the Council. The Pact, however, recommended that measures be taken to curtail excessive armament. A mechanism was proposed and the Council of the League of Nations was empowered to carry out preparations for convening an international disarmament conference. Unquestionably the most important general activity of the League of Nations was the preparation, convening and conducting of such a conference. That idea that states should come together for purposes of assuming conventional obligations to accept a plan of gradual disarmament and minimization of their right to unlimited armament constituted a step forward, even though the idea did not succeed in practice. It did not succeed because opposite interests represented the *de facto* basis of international relations, and because they were more potent than the interests

and desires of those who convened the conference. Concretely, Germany was one of the actual causes of the conference's failure. Restricted in armament under the Treaty of Versailles, she could not aspire to a better lot in the matter of armament than had been provided for her by that Treaty, unless the latter was amended or violated.

When Hitler came to power, the situation in Germany was exploited at this conference. If states have equal rights in international relations then, according to Hitler, they must also be equal in the matter of limitation of armament. Germany called on other states to make up their mind whether they would recognize or not the principle of equality of states, viz., whether all states should be granted full sovereignty regarding armaments or whether all states should be equally restrained in their right to arm. Theoretically Germany declared herself prepared to tolerate limitation of armaments if this applied to other states also, subject to possible revisions necessitated by specific needs (the scattered nature of the colonies on different continents, the need to maintain bases, the need of communication of warships on different seas, etc.). The dilemma was too great and too involved strategically, and did not permit of a juridical settlement of the issue, so it was sought to maintain the system of advantage in armaments of the former victors. The conference dispersed, adjourning for an indefinite time, without having produced any precise rules which would be binding on states: it only reaffirmed the old principle that a sovereign State is free in the matter of armaments and that in respect of this freedom it may be subjected to limitation of a conventional character, viz., assume tangible treaty obligations. No other international rule was proclaimed.

Nevertheless, one must not assume that there had been no recommendations to avoid excessive armaments, that arguments against excessive arming had been lacking. And conversely, the violation of all the so-called military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles was due to unilateral acts by the Third Reich. Arming continued on its course. And if we digress for a moment from juridical considerations and view the matter from the political angle, we shall see that a sort of tolerance of Hitler's arming bred the phenomenon of the arming of the rising socialist colossus — the U.S.S.R. — which was confronted with the armaments of the bourgeois powers.

One other circumstance that must not be overlooked is that, in the interval, an agreement on limitation of naval armaments was arrived at on two occasions. But this limitation was not a matter of principle but of proportion, and it only involved the greatest naval powers, the ratios of their mutual naval strength being established. Thus, while the navies of all states became reduced, Great Britain succeeded in maintaining her naval supremacy.

The League of Nations also took measures for the limitation of the utilization of the armaments of individual states, the most important of these being the Convention prohibiting bacteriological, chemical and physical weapons, which was concluded in Geneva in 1925. Also noteworthy is the Kellog Pact, of the same period, which prohibited and outlawed war. In essence this Pact never became operative, in spite of the solemn promises made by states. It demonstrated a fine ideal which remained a dead letter, just like all the provisions

of the Pact of the League of Nations regarding co-operation against aggression. Viewed juridically, however, neither the one nor the other of these measures involved the imposition of a ban or limitation of armaments on states. On the contrary, the states went on arming, and excessive armament led to aggression by the fascist powers.

THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS

DURING the Second World War fresh bases were sought for the future international legal organization. In accordance with the preamble to its Charter, the United Nations created its organization with the aim of preventing a repetition of Armageddon. In all the preparatory works there had been distinctly manifested the political conviction that excessive armament of states is not only a condition for, but the cause of war. As a result, the idea of gradual disarmament, by way of a partial limitation of the armaments of states, eventually matured for legalistic implementation. The United Nations Charter, however, did not establish a firm rule about disarmament of the partial limitation of armament. It only created the mechanism for preparing and planning for such future disarmament. The Security Council was charged with the carrying out of this task. The Charter comprises provisions concerning the apparatus for carrying out these preparations. This apparatus, however, has no authority to prescribe limitation of arm-

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A Democratic Socialist Weekly

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aments. Thus the conventional basis for the settlement of the problem was retained. The Charter proclaimed the same rule as was recognized by classical law, that is to say, the voluntary assumption of obligations by states, and the limitation of military sovereignty. Once the Security Council has laid down the basis for settlement, the first step will have been made in gradual disarmament and the ban of new armaments. That crucial step, according to the Charter, will be made by calling a diplomatic conference at which states would accept a multilateral disarmament convention.

As soon as it began to function, at the time of the First Regular Session of the UN General Assembly, the Security Council formed a Commission of the UN General Assembly, the Security Council formed a Commission to prepare limitation of armaments and gradual disarmament. This Commission was to deal with conventional armaments. An Atomic Energy Commission was set up separately. But the dispute as to whether conventional disarmament should be carried out independently of the ban on the use of atomic energy for war purposes, or concurrently, was not solved, and these two questions were not combined. It is deplorable yet necessary to note that no headway has been made from 1947 to date. The creation of two blocs, opposing interests in conven-

tional and atomic armaments, tensions in world relations, the permanent cold war — those are the factors which have prevented gradual limitation of armament and, ipso facto, the general disarmament and the banning of the creation of fresh stockpiles of weapons, which would lead to definite legal commitments of states.

The legal aspect of this question remains unchanged. According to the Charter, limitation of armaments rests on the voluntarily assumed treaty obligations of states. If we discount the ephemeral obligations which were assumed by the defeated countries under the Paris Agreement of 1947, involving measures which have not been respected by anybody, for even those states have become immersed in the blocs, it is likely that this question, too, will find its epilogue in the intensive work of preparing a disarmament plan and convening a conference at which a multilateral convention will be enacted, and international control of its implementation established. For now the fact is that only the mode for creating a legal obligation concerning disarmament has been foreseen, but not the obligation itself. The obligation will be assumed if and when such a multilateral convention takes shape. Voluntary acceptance would constitute the legal basis for its functioning.

Towards Political Integration in Africa

by L. ERVEN

WHILE POLITICAL liberation in Africa has not been completed, the freeing of all Africa from various forms of colonial dependence is only a question of a comparatively short period. Even those reforms in the relations between the colonial administration and the population, designed to guard the interests of the colonizers from a too abrupt severance of ties with the former colony are considered a short-term measure. Even the colonizer himself who recommends or imposes them no longer reckons in decades, but in years, while the various political movements in the colonies, even when they resign themselves to them as a transitional phase, do not even reckon in years, but in months. It cannot be assumed that the colonial order, which has found itself in total conflict with the international consciousness of the modern generation, will hold out much longer, in the face of internal struggles and external pressures from all sides of liberated Africa.

Although the actual process of the acquisition of independence is still in progress, parallel with its expansion one is able to discern the basic contours of the problems inherent in that process. Entrance into independence is the initial and conditional phase of Africa's political emancipation. Full emancipation cannot assert itself, nor can it be safeguarded by a formal proclamation of independence and the establishment of the relevant organs and institutions. It will be necessary — logically so — to realize and safeguard also other conditions that make up the material basis of every definite social formation, for the promotion of its independent activity. The peoples of Africa are faced with the selection of a policy which will safeguard these conditions most efficaciously.

This process of building effective independence will at the same time be a process of differentiation of the forces, aims

and methods in the development of African independence. It will be conditioned by internal conditions within the complex of African contrasts. Hence, one can assume that that further process of building African independence will vary in individual parts of Africa more than the process of acquisition of independence.

African contrasts are of a multiple character: racial, ethnic, national, lingual, religious, cultural, geographic, political, economic. Even the individual regions, our concept of which is that of an integer, actually represent a mosaic of tribes, religions, traditions and languages. But just as these contrasts are manifest within the framework of the individual regions, the similarities and associations surpass their borders. The administrative boundaries, which in this phase of development of African independence are becoming State borders, frequently have no other foundations behind them except the policy of the colonizers, or their mutual agreement. These boundaries, however, will play an important role in the later process of the national differentiation of Africans, unless that process takes an entirely unexpected course.

Except in the geographic sense, Africa has never formed one whole in features and conditions. But during the period of the colonial system its specific features did not have a more appreciable effect on its development, which was dictated by the policies and plans of the colonizers and moulded into the schemes of their administrative system. Today, when these extraneous factors are fading and their influence disappearing, African characteristics and contrasts are becoming active factors of African policy. Hence the appearance of certain divergencies and contradictions in the

programmes and actions of different political movements. They may be objective or subjective, material or psychological.

From such a concurrence of circumstances there arises the fundamental African question: will political and social development in Africa proceed in the direction of integration, and what kind of integration, or will that development proceed in the direction of increasingly pronounced national differentiation?

The soil of Africa is today criss-crossed by several currents of a narrower or wider integration programme. Their common characteristic is that they start from the presumption of full independence for individual states, and that they conceive of a broader community as a system wherein the principle of independence would not be affected. One of those programmes, the most African of all, comprises a scheme of establishing a United States of Africa, on the principles of African unity which were proclaimed at the Accra Conference in 1958. The protagonists of this programme are Guinea and Ghana, who in fact decided to demonstrate it by their own example by founding a mutual union. This union has not yet been carried out in practice, but the principles of the joint declaration upon which it is based are identical with those underlying the proposed community of the United States of Africa. Each member of the union retains his identity and structure, and himself takes the decision relating to the transference of part of his sovereignty to the community. It comprises a common defence policy, yet the maintenance of national defence forces; a common citizenship, with a national one as well, common instruments and institutions of economic policy; and so on. Guinea, who at once cast off all ties with the former metropolis, favours a somewhat more radical form of this programme than Ghana, who at first retained the inner status of a British Dominion.

Ghana and Guinea are regarded as the protagonists of the programme of all-Africa solidarity and unity. But their influence is proving stronger in the colonies where the struggle for independence is still going on than in the already freed states, where the ideas of the All-Africa Movement, under the leadership of Guinea and Ghana, are coming face to face with the feeling of recently-gained independence.

At the opposite extreme, maintaining that the programme of all-African political unification lacks a real basis, stands Nigeria, who refuses a priori to co-operate with Ghana and Guinea in this sense. In effect, if not in tangible political programme, the position taken by the majority of the autonomous republics of the French Community, as well as by the former trusteeship territories of Togoland and the Cameroons is similar. The Government of the Cameroons, which carried out the decision to proclaim independence, supports a programme of political independence and closer co-operation with France. Togoland, the proclamation of whose independence is pending, apparently adheres to a similar programme.

The French Community itself was to have been an expression of the integration of the French colonies through a common State organism. This attempt soon proved unsuccessful, and it is now going through a phase of radical changes. Individual members demand that their status of autonomous federal units be replaced by the status of independent states which would maintain relations, most likely on a treaty basis, with France. From these developments in the French Community it may be concluded that Africa is to demonstrate a new system of community of peoples with France as its centre, on the pattern of the British Commonwealth. As for the British form of community of peoples, there is a tendency among the British colonies in Africa to join it as new members, upon gaining independence.

The United States of Africa, the reformed French Community, and the British Commonwealth are three versions of a broader African grouping and regrouping within the framework of the African process. But movements and trends for an inner grouping or single unifications of the new African countries are also evident. Within the French Community,

such a movement has led to the unification of Senegal and Sudan to form a federation; to the formation of a Customs Union between the republics of French Equatorial Africa; and to the grouping of the so-called African Agreement under the leadership of the Ivory Coast. There is a tendency towards the creation of a union between Ghana and Togoland, or — this is an opposed movement — between Togoland and Dahomey; and for Gambia to unite with Senegal.

The problem, then, is seen to be the subject of a most lively and very diversified treatment, in Darkest Africa particularly. There are, however, supporters of integration also in the Arab part of Africa, where the movement for political unity is expressed through the idea of establishing the Maghreb Arab community. But owing to the unsolved problem of Algeria, who has a central place in this conception and who will probably have a central role in its realization, the Maghreb idea has not yet assumed the concrete form of a political programme, even though it has been adopted in principle both in Morocco and Tunisia, where it is treated as the next stage in the political development of North Africa.

Thus it may be said that the future development of African countries will be influenced by various factors, among them the conceptions about national independence and national integrity, as well as by factors of economic interdependence, conditions for independent development, ambitions and rivalries of individual political movements and their leaders etc. But the general direction of the movement of political and social development in Africa will above all depend on what social forces assert themselves as the protagonists of the great African revival, in the course of its further process. Thus, for example, the creation of a new African bourgeoisie on the foundations of the taken-over and nationalized colonial positions, and the adoption of the European capitalist system, with all its economic and social consequences, would definitely encourage the contradictions and rivalries of individual African regions and the appearance of nationalistic aberrations. And conversely, the realization of the doctrine of socialist democracy, through the institutions and programmes of economic and social development, would certainly tend to strengthen the solidarity and co-operation of the new African states, thereby facilitating the process of integration in various domains of common concern.

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(India)

The Impact Effect of Agricultural Protectionism in Western Europe

by Thomas BALOGH

THE POSITION of the underdeveloped countries of the non-Soviet orbit has undergone a very serious deterioration since 1951. The prices at which they can sell their produce against manufactures and especially instruments of production has deteriorated by some thirty per cent and is now hardly better than pre-war. Yet their production has not increased more, it increased, if anything, less, than that of the fully industrialised countries.

The reasons for this are manifold. In the first place poor primary producers notoriously are in a *weak bargaining position* when the sellers' market disappears. They cannot easily curtail their production. They are, in most cases, unable to hold their produce even temporarily off the market in the hope of obtaining better conditions, because they lack both the financial institutions to help them to carry stocks and the means to store and manage them. Consequently, a world system in which the highly developed areas periodically restrain demand by monetary policy, the impact of this policy in primary producing markets necessarily causes a sharp deterioration in their terms of trade: primary product prices declined more sharp than the price of manufactures.

The impact of periodic setbacks is the more likely because the *long-run world market outlook* for a number of primary products is not at all encouraging. The rapid industrial progress has had an unfavourable effect on primary producers. On the one hand, it *reduced waste*, and therefore reduced the need for any given output of corresponding raw materials, on the other (and even more important) it results in the discovery of *new and superior materials* which displace the natural products by virtue of their cheapness, evenness of quality and other advantages. Buna rubber, glass-wool (replacing cork), artificial fibres, and highly refined and cheap groundnut oil show the immense threat involved in this process to specialised primary producers. *Tastes have changed* towards highly manufactured durable consumer goods and against primary goods and this change has been accentuated by incessant advertising.

Thus, primary producing countries after a short period of relief immediately after the war find it increasingly difficult to start or sustain accumulating capital sufficiently to induce sustaining growth. According to the "World Economic Survey for 1958" of the United Nations, the poor primary producing areas lost more as a result of the deterioration of their terms of trade than the whole of the foreign aid they received from the international agencies and under bilateral agreements from the United States and other of the richer areas.

Thus, the hopes for an automatic solution of the problems of the poor areas have faded away.

Far more important, in my opinion, is however the *technical agrarian revolution* going on in highly developed areas by which their productivity in regard to temperate-zone food and raw materials is increasing at a rate faster even than industrial progress. This agricultural revolution has been most conspicuous in America and Germany, but it is now gaining ground in France and in Britain also. (This aspect of the plight of the underdeveloped areas has not been generally understood or publicized). The one factor which has received much more publicity is the agricultural protectionism in highly developed areas, including the efforts of the U.S. Government to get rid of commodity surplus without being willing to pursue a planned policy of economic expansion in the underdeveloped areas. The efforts of the U.S. Administration to curtail production in the U.S. while famine conditions obtain in very important strategic areas shows the extent of the failure to understand the problem. Without such planned expansion surplus disposal necessarily hurts "regular trade channels". At the same time it would be foolish to suppose that a lowering of tariff barriers would bring about much relief: the increase of pressure on producers would merely accelerate technical progress and thus outstrip the poor even without protection.

In recent times this outlook has been complicated and aggravated by the emergence of the so-called Common Market of the six. This so-called Common Market — in stark contrast to the British plans for Free Trade in Europe — is much more than an economic gimmick. It is a political conception, which originated in the cold war, to confront Russia with a powerful political and military organisation in the west and at the same time so closely to the Western Germany to the west of Europe as to make impossible any compromise with the Russians which would endanger the original conception of NATO. It was a conception that grew out of the Acheson-Dulles line of resistance against further encroachments of Stalinism. At the same time it represents essentially a coalition of Catholic powers ruled by Catholic parties or, as in the case of France, by a semi-autocratic régime which has the blessing of the Catholics and which shares their economic views.

But even if the formation and the main impact of the Common Market is *political* (as we see in the use by de Gaulle and Adenauer of their powerful position to sabotage an early summit meeting) on the *economic* front its influence was meant disunity and trouble rather

than a trend towards unity and progress. In this respect, too, it represents a complete and utter failure of the policies of the high bureaucracy, which under Labour prevented OEEC from becoming an effective co-ordinating agency between European countries, and under the Conservatives led the country to a complete impasse on the basis of the purely negative *laissez-faire* conception of a Free Trade Area. I have always disliked and distrusted the Common Market concept. I disliked it because I felt, and still feel, doubtful whether such disparate societies and economies can be unified in so negative a way. I felt that such union, the subjection of territories at diverse stages of development, can do nothing but make the strong richer and the weak poorer. I also suspected that the tension which continue to exist even domestically despite the steady integration of society through the so-called Welfare State, and despite the feeling of national solidarity, would in this context be magnified, give rise to feelings of rivalry, and thus undermine rather than strengthen the capacity of Europe to stand up to the Soviet economic challenge.

I also felt that this type of approach, while it may improve the situation of primary producers within the territory (including the dependent and associated territories which were brought into it) would do immense harm outside. I felt this because I feared that the sort of policy which a coalition bloc would pursue would fail to increase national income and demand sufficiently fast to offset the deleterious impact on outside producers of the increase in domestic supplies due not so much to the assurance of protected markets as to the increased investment and technical progress within the bloc. German agricultural productivity up till 1958 has been increasing faster even than their headlong industrial expansion. The application of already existing technical knowledge to the less developed parts of the European community (including African joint territories) might result in explosive increases in primary produce. Thus I felt that the establishment of a vast protected trading areas might lead to the same sort of problems with which America faced the world immediately after the war. Within this powerful new unit, however, the Germans with their overwhelming strength would establish clear leadership. The consequential situation would be extremely unhappy for all remained outside. If moreover the Greeks and the Turks join the Common Market this will further menace those underdeveloped areas which remain outside, as the potential increases in these countries of primary production if outside capital technical and educational assistance if forthcoming will be quite formidable.

The reaction of the British to the creation of the Common Market was a surprised chagrin, and they replied by trying to muster seven out of the 12 countries not in the Common Market which were members of OEEC. The Little Seven, stretching from Scandinavia to Portugal, and from Austria to Britain, are straddled by the Common Market countries which hold two of its members (Switzerland and Austria) in an iron grip, surrounding them on three sides. Apart from the Swedish market there is little to go for, and the Portuguese are bound to get badly hurt by the negative conception of abolishing tariffs for manufactured imports rather than positive development. The Americans, moreover, who because of military reasons could not oppose the Common

Market when it was formed and are now even less able to oppose it, at last begin to realise the possibilities for displacement of their exports by the Little Seven arrangement, and especially their exports of certain foodstuffs in which the Little Seven might divert trade. Thus, as unjust as life is, while the Americans were sponsoring the disuniting Common Market of the Six which really does menace their grip, they are now loudly protesting against the much less dangerous, because innocuous and rather puerile, attempts of the Seven. Still, even the formation of the Seven must menace outsiders as the potential diversion effect might be substantial even in agriculture. Thus the primary producers outside Western Europe might seriously be hurt.

This is the more likely as there is no reason to believe that the increase in national income and demand within the new „bloc“ will increase so fast as to offset the „diversion“ effect of the protectionism. The internal economic development of the Six has shown both the advantages and the disadvantages of liberal economics. The German miracle has now been followed by the French miracle. Both are exceedingly simple to explain. They were born out of a decisive weakening of trade unions and an increase in the share of profits in the total national income, by the stimulation of export surpluses and sustained employment, despite the deflationary impact of the collapse of union strength. In Germany this collapse of union strength was engineered by the confiscation of trade union funds by the American-sponsored currency reform and the immense influx of manpower from the east which kept the Labour market glutted with unemployed despite rapidly increasing employment due to the investment financed out of the vastly increased profits. German efficiency wages are still exceedingly low, though German real wages have increased very fast — indeed even, faster than wages in Britain. But German productivity increased much faster owing to the vast investment programme. The miracle of Dr. Erhard was no greater than that of Hitler after 1933 or Dr. Schacht after 1923.

It has now been followed by a very similar French miracle, based on the devaluation of the franc and the cowing of the French trade unions through the victory of de Gaulle and the failure of the general strike. This provided the opportunity for profit, provided that opportunity could only be realised by an excess of exports. This was provided for first by the British currency and balance of payments troubles, mainly due to the fact that Britain sustained a capital export to the Sterling Area. More recently, it was the American balance of payments deficit which sustained business in France and Germany.

If America and Britain had taken competitive steps to stop these deficits the world would have spiralled down, as it did, in fact, spiral down after 1931. The growing American preoccupation with the deficit and more especially the American intention to cut grants and loans to underdeveloped countries in the hope that Britain and the Common Market countries would make it up, might well lead to a severe diminution of the net resources at the disposal of the underdeveloped countries, which are already under grave pressure since 1957 because of the fall in commodity prices. It is unlikely in the extreme that an increase in the contribution of Western Europe, includ-

ing Britain, will offset the cuts, especially if, as is now likely, the intra-European liberalisation proceeds still further and thus depresses on the outside countries even more. The outlook for the poor countries of the non-Soviet orbit are sombre.

The increase in monetary pressures, the talk of cuts, all presage however that the liberal miracle is suffering from a basic internal weakness. It can only persist as long as it can sustain itself by selling outside. Once the prop is removed its internal balance is also menaced. And this prop is now wobbling. It is to be hoped that when the western leaders meet, this weakness will be more seriously considered than it has been hitherto. Despite temporary successes the western coalition is more disunited, less coherent, than it has been since the war, and economically it has grown relatively weaker, and not

stronger, in comparison to Russia. Should Russia begin to apply its newly accumulated technical advances to the consumer goods industries the international economic picture might assume a very different shape. In that case the persistent tendency of manufacturing prices to increase in terms of primary produce will at last come to an end. This relief to the underdeveloped poor areas will not, unfortunately, come, thanks to Western insight and foresight.

It is not too late for the Western countries to learn the lesson and initiate a new policy towards the underdeveloped world which would imply a more conscious control of the pattern and increase of investment home production and foreign aid. But it is certainly very late and few of the leaders show any sign of realising the nature and magnitude of the problem.

Comments

THE NEO-NAZIST DANGER

by N. DUBRAVČIĆ

WITH the beginning of the new year the world has been unpleasantly surprised at the revival of anti-Semitic and fascist incidents in the German Federal Republic. If at first there were some doubts as to the character of the sudden re-appearance of Nazi symbols and slogans, they soon began to disappear as the wave of incidents assumed alarming proportions, not only in all parts of West Germany, but also in a number of European and non-European countries. There could be no doubt of it: the manner in which neo-Nazis were demonstrating their strength and declaring their objectives was horribly reminiscent of Weimar Germany at the time of Hitler's appearance in the streets and in beer cellars, when the „Übermensch“ theory began to take shape on the unstable foundations of a pseudo-democracy.

It is not without significance that this neo-Fascist activity has been launched on a very wide scale and in many countries simultaneously, regardless of whether they had an anti-Semitic record or not. In all these countries, and even on each of the continents, the demonstrations have taken the same form, which completely refutes the theory that these are isolated, separate acts by irresponsible hooligans. On the contrary, everything points to the fact that this is a well-prepared campaign, or rather an offensive with a precisely fixed programme, and directed from a strong central organization.

Nor can there be any doubt that, to-day as well as yesterday, behind the slogans of anti-Semitism is the sinister idea of destruction — a plot against the relaxation of tension, against co-operation and confidence between nations. To the sounds of the old fanfares definite social and political forces are heralding their presence, and at the same time conducting a preliminary mobilization of all the active, potential or reserve cold-war cadres.

Organized on such a wide scale, this activity has found favourable conditions for its exuberant growth in the circumstances which have accompanied the development of post-war democracy in the Bonn Republic. Had they not found

favourable ground, and conditions in which the Nazi ideology was tolerated and responsibility for the crimes committed by Fascism in the world passed over in silence, the neo-Nazis would be unable to-day to throw such an impudent challenge into the face of European democracy. The policy pursued by the responsible factors of the Federal Republic did not aim at giving historic satisfaction to elementary justice, whose demand that Nazism should be punished meant the acknowledgement of an obligatory debt of conscience — in other words, it did not aim at condemning, anathematizing and nipping in the bud the causes which led to Nazism. Instead, their policy followed a different course, infected from the beginning with the germ of restoration at public gatherings of „Ritterkreuz“ holders and with the gracious assistance of responsible quarters, the Hitlerite past was evoked in terms of national pride, and important government and public posts were bestowed on notorious Nazi leisters and gauleiters. The remnants of Hitler's elite were able to organise themselves politically: the German Reichsparty encounters no resistance from official circles in the open implementation of its neo-Nazi programme, and reliable quarters claim that more than one hundred registered organisations in West Germany are actively engaged in the renewal of the Nazi spirit and ideas, with the knowledge of the authorities. And it is not only that the domestic veterans of the „Anti-Bolshevik War“ have every legal means for reaffirmation within the existing institutions, associations and parties, but the numerous Quisling refugees from former occupied European countries have also found asylum and even support, and the opportunity of including themselves in the general „Anti-Communist Front“ in that country. The Right has never been very particular about the means it uses, nor is it to-day; even the outward symbols of Nazism have remained the same, and a legend, a myth of the hero who „was the first to show his teeth to Communism“ is being woven round the name of Adolf Hitler, slowly but surely.

Serious responsibility for having based its official policy exclusively on the cold war philosophy and methods rests squarely with the West-German Government. In its resistance to a lasting relaxation in East-West relations and to any favourable tendency along these lines, Bonn has chosen methods of pressure and tension as its political course with regard to the East, wishing to realize its Greater Germany aspirations in such an atmosphere. This orientation would naturally create favourable ground for the revival of extremist nationalist ideas, and this orientation itself, by virtue of its inner logic, must inevitably lead to compromise and association with Nazi elements. Under the present circumstances and after Adenauer's failure in Paris to prevent any attempt to negotiate with the East, it may be rightly supposed that the appearance of Fascist acts of violence in West Germany and other countries marks a specific form of pressure and threat, aimed at returning international relations to the cold war state. Is not Adenauer's theory, published recently in the Dutch paper „Elsevier's Weekblad“, to the effect that coexistence between nations with different systems is an „illusion which is, unfortunately, too widely held“, a direct encouragement to forces which are prepared to do everything to prevent relaxation and agreement in the world?

The responsibility, however, does not rest solely with the Bonn Government. During the entire post-war period the short-sighted policy of the Western powers meant an amnesty for Nazism: from symbolic denazification, which in no way and in no case touched the basic foundations of Nazism, through the restoration of Krupp, Heinkel, Siedel, Messerschmidt and other Nazi trusts, to the inclusion of West Germany in NATO and the rearmament of the Bundeswehr. As a result of this policy, the Western powers have, it is true, got what they wanted — Bonn's consent to and co-operation in the cold war — but they are now encountering the logical consequence of their action, the revival of the swastika.

The present attitude of West German official circles to this mass instigation to violent acts throws a very odd light on the political constellation in the Bonn Republic. The Act against nationalist instigation which the Government says is in preparation arouses justified doubts in advance, as it will provide no real guarantee that anti-Semitism will actually be suppressed. According to the Social-Democrats, the Act has been drawn up so that it will provide yet another source of encouragement to neo-Nazis to engage in racial excesses. And in spite of all this mess the Government does not consider itself in the least obliged to pass measures against the renewal of Nazism. Adenauer is satisfied with expressions of regret, and Schröder, his Minister of Home Affairs, who is, by virtue of the law and his position, primarily responsible for the launching of a counter-offensive, denies even the fact that the demonstrations are the fruit of a Right-sponsored campaign. Officials of the Government party oppose a Bundestag debate on the danger of Nazism, for fear that it may bring into the open some awkward facts about the strength and role of neo-Nazi organizations in the political life of the Federal Republic and the State apparatus, Army, schools and families.

This is a deplorable aspect: Nazism raises its head, and nothing is done to censure it, except for some pedantic commentaries in the Press and a Platonic condemnation of anti-Semitism. In all this no one condemns the causes of this manifestation.

Finally, it is not a question only of the desecration of the synagogue in Cologne, or even of swastikas daubed on the homes of police chiefs. The names of course have changed: yesterday it was the National-Socialist Reichsparty, to-day it is the German Reichsparty, and tomorrow who knows what it may call itself; but the spirit is the same. It is the same twilight of political conscience, the same reflection of a crazy ideology to inspire the younger generations, this time not even born in the flames of the Reichstag; the same inclination towards destruction and racial pogroms, to-day

camouflaged under the guise of various petit-bourgeois and chauvinist organizations; the same threat which inevitably calls to mind associations on the subject of Germany yesterday — Germany to-day — Germany tomorrow.

The threat, however, is not only national in character; it jeopardizes not only the countries in which appear the outward symbols of the past, branded for even by the history of this century. It is also international in the full sense of the word. To-day this is a European and a world problem, and public and responsible people must take it seriously. In order to do away with the danger in time, it is necessary — without either minimizing or over-estimating the specific difficulties involved in such an action — to draw definite lessons from what is happening and then to take the proper steps, not even hesitating to engage the United Nations, as the body which is most responsible for the preservation of peace.

Solidarity with War Criminal

ONE OF THE GREATEST war criminals of our time Ante Pavelić who died at the end of last year in a German hospital in Madrid would not deserve to be mentioned at all had his death not been represented as an enormous loss by a section of the German and Austrian press. On the other hand, in the rest of the press, news agencies and radio station commentaries in the West and the United States (A.F.P., French newspapers, Reuter, „The Times“, „Washington Post“, „New York Times“, many Italian and West German newspapers, as well as the progressive press in Austria) he was described in his real light, as one of the greatest fascist war criminals.

Every comment is superfluous where Pavelić, a terrorist guided by the basest instincts, who covered half of Yugoslavia with massacred corpses while managing to escape the just punishment of his crimes on three occasions thanks to the support of fascist circles in the pre war and post war period, is concerned. It is necessary, however, to call attention to the attitude and ideology of those who glorify his name at present with the aura of „fighter and martyr“:

* In Rome for example permission was given to hold a requiem service for Pavelić in the Collegium Illyricum;

* On Italian TV screens Pavelić and his ustashi were exalted as „fighters for Croatian independence“;

* The „Neue Tageszeitung“ organ of the Austrian National Party represents Pavelić as the leader of a revolutionary movement;

* The „Salzburger Nachrichten“ glorifies him as the „leader and founder of the independent and revolutionary Croatian movement which fought against communism“;

* „Die Presse“ printed a whole column of praise with a photograph of Pavelić in parade uniform as „Poglavnik“ (Head of the puppet Croatian state);

* In „Die Welt“ (West Germany) Pavelić is represented as the President of the Croatian state which was founded during World War II, and no further comment is offered either by the „Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung“ or the „Neue Reich Zeitung“;

Not a word is said about the darkest pages of history written by the Pavelić regime with the blood of innocent Serbs, Jews and anti-fascists. No mention is made of the war crimes and massacres committed which will sound to future generations as incredible tales from the times of totalitarian terror.

Pavelić was the child of international fascism but it seems

that it is not buried with him. Its offspring are alive and active in countries which replaced the outer insignia of fascism with the artificial veil of democracy and neutrality. This is not proved only by the foregoing quotations, but also by the wave of anti-semitism which is rampant today in many cities throughout Western Germany and other western countries. We are in honour bound to remind all of this also because —.

Pavelić's right hand man, war criminal Andrija Artuković is still enjoying the benevolent protection of a California tribunal on the sunny coast of the native land of Lincoln, Washington and Roosevelt;

Krunoslav Draganović, a no lesser war criminal and former chief of Pavelić's bureau for mass extermination in concentration camps enjoys freedom and hospitality in Rome under protection of the Vatican.

But what purpose does it serve to enumerate such and similar cases? Let us cite the highly appropriate conclusion reached by the „New York Post“ in its comment on Pavelić's death and referring to Artuković: „His case deserves closer scrutiny at a time when we are exchanging goodwill messages with many peoples throughout the world“.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

The System of Communal Finance

by Dr. Jaša DAVIČO

This article was written for our Review by Dr. Jaša Davičo just before his illness, which in a short time — on January 8 — took him from us. For the review „Ekonomiska politika“, whose editor-in-chief he was for many years, for the Yugoslav press, and for economic science his early death is a heavy loss. In publishing his last article the editorial board of the „Review of International Affairs“ pays tribute to its prominent contributor, and the Yugoslav press takes leave of one of its most active representatives.

THE RIGHTS and obligations of the local bodies of self-government in the sphere of finance actually reflect the functions and status of these organs in the social system. The volume of their financial resources (both absolute and relative) testifies to the material basis of self-government and the level of social decentralization reached in accordance with the general economic development of the country.

For this reason the system of communal finance in Yugoslavia cannot be contemplated as an exclusively economic and especially not as a financial problem of a technical nature. Communal finance is essentially a social-political problem as the tendencies manifested in this respect characterize the developments in an important sector of our social relations, namely the communal system.

Communal finance covers two major domains: the budgets of the local bodies of self-government and the social (public) investment funds of the communes and districts. The other spheres of communal finance (budget funds, funds for housing construction, etc.), although characteristic of our present communal system since they cover an important activity of the communes in the advancement of certain economic branches and

improvement of the general standard of living, are actually transitional forms of communal finance.

THE COMMUNAL BUDGETS

AS A RULE, the district and municipal budgets are not used for the financing of economic expenditure but for various public services. It is here that the initiative and independence of the local bodies of self-government in the promotion of the social standard of living on their territory is shown. The district and municipal budget outlay assures the functioning of all the basic services and activities in the sphere of education and culture, public health, welfare and the communal services. The expenses financed from the budgets of the higher political territorial units may also be significant in these spheres; on the other hand, the communal services may in some cases be self-sufficient, i.e., self-financing.

The sources of income of the communal budgets fall into two basic categories: obligatory and optional. Obligatory income is stipulated by Law while optional income should not be introduced at all on certain territories. If it must be levied then this may only be done up to a certain minimum; if the commune should foresee the introduction of income above the minimum level this surplus income is of an optional character.

The obligatory income of the communes consists for example of the budget contribution from the personal income of workers and office employees (personal income tax), income tax paid by individual peasants, craftsmen and the members of the free professions, death duties and inheritance taxes, minimum rates on income tax, etc. Optional income includes rates on income tax above a certain level, municipal turnover tax, supplementary budget contribution from personal income, etc.

The budget income of the commune may also be divided according to other criteria. There is the so-called common income of municipal, district and other political territorial bodies, which is allocated according to given criteria. On the other hand, there is the exclusive income of the communes. Thus, for instance, the budgets of the municipalities, districts, people's republic and Federation take a part of the turnover tax which is levied in accordance with the Federal Law. Consequently turnover tax constitutes a common source of income. The budgets of the municipalities, districts and people's republics share the income tax of craftsmen and free professions, but the Federation does not. This is also a common source of income. However, municipal rates, death duties, municipal turnover tax, local budget contribution, land tax, etc. accrue exclusively to the municipality, however.

It is primarily characteristic of the income of communal budgets that they depend on the level of personal income. This characteristic was also manifest in the existing Budget Law and will be further strengthened by the forthcoming budget reform. This is the prime characteristic of communal budget in Yugoslavia.

The commune, as the basic organ of self-government, is invested with an unusually important function in the sphere of expenditure. By its self-governing instruments, the commune influences the allocation of expenditure, increasing or reducing the level of general expenditure at the expense of (or in favour of) personal spending and consumption.

If the commune should acquire substantial budget resources by levying supplementary taxes on the personal income of workers or a municipal turnover tax, which are both optional and accrue exclusively to the municipal budgets, it would also reduce individual spending of the citizens on its territory. By reducing the volume of individual spending, the commune makes possible the creation of funds for the financing of various public services in the interest of the citizens living on that territory. From the funds thus obtained, the commune may assure the improvement of the health service or elementary school network or improve the city electric power or water supply. The commune may also subsidize certain public services which may sell their services or products to the beneficiaries at very low prices, i.e., below the actual costs.

The citizens may exert a direct influence in the shaping of such a municipal policy at voters' meetings and within the entire mechanism of self-government. They, may, in given cases, accept a higher percentage municipal turnover tax if they consider that the funds thus obtained will enable the more efficient functioning of the essential communal services. Conversely, they may demand the reduction of these taxes if they consider at the moment that the communal services are functioning perfectly and that they should therefore increase personal spending. It is characteristic that the allocation of the total expenditure fund to general and individual requirements depends on an autonomous decision.

Consequently, irrespective of their role with regard to the financing of state administration, the communal budgets essentially imply the independent allocation of the total expenditure fund. This is one of the basic functions of the commune in which the working people

appear both as producers and consumers. In this respect the commune is the basic social community in which the individual and collective interests are coordinated and harmonized.

In 1956, the total expenditure of district people's committees amounted to 53.2 thousand million dinars, 55.7 in 1957 and 52.5 dinars in 1958. Total municipal expenditure came to 62.3 thousand million dinars in 1956, 80 in 1957 and 96.8 in 1958. Consequently, municipal budget expenditure rose by over 50 per cent during the 1956/58 period.

Of a total 96.8 thousand million dinars of municipal budget outlay in 1958, expenses for the public administration and judiciary absorbed 23.6 per cent, cultural and educational activities 37.5 per cent, social and health activities 14.9 per cent and communal activities 5.7 per cent. The remainder was used for so-called budget investments and subsidies to economic and other institutions.

Apart from assuring the still stronger inter-connection between the communal budget and personal income of the population, the budget reform will enable the general expenditure fund from which the public services are financed to be formed in accordance with the consumption power of the population on a given territory. Significant changes are also foreseen aiming at the achievement of a more objective criterion in the formation of the budget income of the commune.

COMMUNAL INVESTMENT FUNDS

A PART from influencing the allocation of the General Expenditure Fund, one of the major roles of the commune lies in the activation of the productive forces on a given territory. The commune is an important investor in the Yugoslav economic system. Its initiative should be reflected in the strengthening of the productive forces on its territory, the creation of conditions for maximum employment and the development of a series of economic activities which contribute to the most rapid development possible.

Therefore, the communes have substantial investment funds at their disposal. These resources are invested in new productive capacities or the expansion of those existing in the form of loans. The Yugoslav economic system foresees the creation of social investment funds in all political-territorial units (the Federation, republic, districts and communes) which would accrue from several sources of income. The contribution from the income of economic organizations is the most important source of income for the investment funds of the commune.

This contribution was established by Federal Law and should be considered as a kind of progressive income tax according to the volume of business done by the individual enterprises. The total amount of this contribution is distributed among the individual political-territorial units including also the districts and communes. The stronger the commune economically, the larger the absolute investment resources on its territory. Consequently the principle of uniform criteria for the deduction of contribution from income and the creation of communal investment funds has been adopted irrespective of the level of development reached by the individual regions. The more rapid development of

the backward regions is enabled by the special-purpose investment resources allocated by the Federation or some other political territorial unit for investments in these regions. In other words, a faster development will not be achieved by „normal“ resources accumulated on the territory of the under-developed region, but by special resources invested for this purpose through the central funds. A different policy would necessarily lead to the falling-off of incentive and stagnation of the developed regions and would not help the under-developed regions sufficiently.

The broadly decentralized investment funds enable the communes to channel their resources in accordance with the productive possibilities on a given territory always taking into account the general economic requirements and interests of the Yugoslav market as a whole. The Yugoslav investment system has a series of instruments for the management of the resources of the decentralized investment funds. So-called participation is one of them. If, for example, the commune wishes to obtain a loan from the General Investment Fund for the construction of a spinning mills, it will have to bear part of the expenses involved by the construction of this project, thus participating with a certain share of resources from its own fund. In accordance with the investment policy foreseen by the Yugoslav Economic Plan, part of the social funds of the communes or districts is also committed in this manner. Thus for example the district investment funds invested approximately one fourth of their resources from the investment funds in the projects built with credits from the General and the republican investment funds. Participation of the investment funds of the communes was approximately the same.

The resources of the district and commune's funds for investment crediting (not including the housing construction fund) totaled 76.5 billion dinars in 1956, 114.2 billion in 1957, and 148.9 billion dinars in 1958.

As seen, the decentralized investment funds attached to the district and commune people's committees are on the increase: this enables an ever stronger influence of the bodies of self-government on the activation of production forces.

* * *

THE HOUSING construction fund is a special sector of communal finance. This fund accrued so far from the housing contribution which averaged 10 per cent of the wages and salaries of workers and office employees on a given territory. By the Housing Reform which took effect at the beginning of this year and which aims at the establishment of so-called economic rents, the housing fund will henceforth accrue from other sources.

The resources of the housing fund are used for the financing (direct or by means of credits) of housing construction. These funds are registering a steady increase from year to year. In 1956, the local housing construction funds totaled 40.8 billion dinars, 84.8 billion in 1957 and 137.6 billion dinars in 1958.

The funds created from precisely defined sources of income are a special form of communal finance and may only be used for the purposes stipulated by Law. These are the so-called budget or special social funds whose

resources are used for the development of given economic branches and the financing of definite social requirements. The agricultural development funds, as well as the funds for the promotion of rural economy, forestry development funds, water supply funds, road-building and maintenance funds, etc. are of particular significance for the commune.

Official Statements

Yugoslav Attitude on...

Anti-semitic outbursts. — „Yugoslav public opinion is deeply revolted by the anti-semitic outbursts in West Germany and some other countries. This revival of the Nazi spirit and methods which wrought untold harm upon the world shows that the forces of war and destruction are still not dead, that on the contrary they are striving to reassert themselves and oppose the liquidation of the cold war and the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and co-operation between peoples and states.

„Such widely-organized Nazi activity could only have appeared as a result of a policy which tended to conceal the past, hush up Nazi crimes and finally which openly tolerated Nazi activities and allowed Nazis to remain in prominent positions. The responsibility for such a situation must also be borne by those powers and forces which condoned this line of policy and which extended refuge and support to various emigrant war criminals and Nazi helpers. Yugoslav and world public opinion rightly expect the responsible factors in West Germany and elsewhere to take immediately the necessary measures to prevent this dangerous activity and eradicate the causes that led to it.“

„Big Four“ agreement. — „The fact that both sides have agreed on the date of the first summit meeting is a positive one. It may be expected that these and the other talks foreseen will contribute to the abatement of tension and improvement of East-West relations, as well as the settlement of the international issues before the United Nations Organization. The talks will also facilitate the achievement of peaceful coexistence and constructive international cooperation“.

Visit of Minister Roa. — „Dr. Raul Roa, the Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs, will arrive on an official visit to Yugoslavia on January 15 at the invitation of the Yugoslav Government. Dr. Roa is thus returning the visit made to Cuba by the Yugoslav Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, in October last year. The visit of Minister Roa is a manifestation of the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Cuba and the mutual wish to continue the development and promotion of all-round cooperation in the interest of both countries and world peace.“

Visit of Federal Executive Council delegation to Morocco and Tunisia. — „A delegation of the Federal Executive Council, headed by Ljupčo Arsov, arrived on an unofficial visit to Morocco where it will spend a few days before proceeding to Tunisia. The visit of this delegation coincides with the wishes and efforts of the Yugoslav Government aiming at the further promotion of friendly relations and cooperation with Tunisia and Morocco and all African countries, in accordance with the principles of active and peaceful coexistence.“

Postponement of nuclear experiments in the USA. — „We have stressed on several occasions that an agreement on the general and final abolition of nuclear explosions should be reached as soon as possible. The negotiations in Geneva have shown that such an agreement is possible. The renewal of the nuclear tests after a year or more at a time when negotiations in Geneva are still in progress and when a general improvement of the international climate is evident, would mean the assumption of very grave responsibilities indeed. The renewal of nuclear experiments would deal a heavy blow to the expectations and justified hopes of world public opinion and all efforts made to assure peace.“

The OEEC Session. — Asked whether a Yugoslav observer would attend the session of the Ministerial Council of the OEEC scheduled in Paris on January 14, the official spokesman replied: „Yes. The Assistant Chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee, Nenad Popović, will attend the session in the capacity of Yugoslav observer. As is known, Yugoslavia has the status of observer in the OEEC. We consider this session important in view of the questions on the agenda. This refers to the activities aiming at the liberalization of trade and payments towards third countries, the extension of assistance to economically underdeveloped regions and other important economic events in Western Europe.“

Attitude towards East European Economic Union. — „We would wish to have a more or less similar status in this organization as in the OEEC.“

Proclamation of independence of the Cameroons. — „The presence of the Yugoslav government delegation at the celebrations marking the proclamation of the independence of the Cameroons is a mark of recognition of the new state by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries is a purely technical question.“

Departure of Yugoslav military attaché from Warsaw. — The official spokesman was asked several questions concerning the Yugoslav military attaché and his assistant who were proclaimed *personae non gratae*. The official spokesman replied: „Unfortunately, these reports are true. The assistant military attaché was also proclaimed *persona non grata*. The military attaché, who was soon to have returned to Yugoslavia after a three-year term of service abroad, was refused hospitality as the immediate superior of the assistant attaché. The rumours that a certain Polish officer or functionary requested asylum or a safe conduct for transit through Yugoslavia are pure fabrications. In connection with the opening, or rather, failure to open, a Polish information centre in Belgrade we may state that we were notified by the Polish Government on December 18, 1959 that it is not in a position to open its information centre in Belgrade in the foreseeable future. We can only express the hope that notwithstanding these unpleasant incidents, Yugoslav-Polish relations will remain as they were.“

Visit of Dag Hammarskjöld to Africa. — „We consider that this visit will enable his direct acquaintance with the situation and needs of the African countries whose role in international political activities and the UN is gaining ever greater significance.“

Visit of Tunisian Minister of Industry and Transport. — „The Tunisian Minister of Industry and Transport, Azzedine Abbasi, made an official visit to Yugoslavia for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the development and possibilities of Yugoslav industry and transport. We are convinced that this visit of the distinguished Tunisian guest will contribute to the further development of friendly relations and economic cooperation between our two countries.“

Yugoslav trade talks. — Several questions referred to the Yugoslav trade talks with other countries. The official spokesman stated: „We do not have any detailed information

yet on the Yugoslav-Indian negotiations which are currently under way in New Delhi. We are convinced that they will lead to broader economic cooperation with India, as all the necessary conditions and mutual wishes exist for this. Trade talks between Yugoslavia and Pakistan will be opened soon. The exact date is not yet known. The talks with the Afghan government delegation were concluded by the signing of an agreement on trade and economic cooperation, a payments agreement and an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation. The talks were held in the spirit of mutual understanding and wish to cooperate.“

Chinese-Indonesian relations. — „We do not wish to comment on the individual statements made or on the relations between China and Indonesia,“ replied the official spokesman when asked whether he has any comment to offer in connection with the statement made by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Subandrio, to the Chinese Ambassador in Jakarta to the effect that the attitude of the Indonesian Government to the problem of the overseas Chinese remained unchanged. „We consider however that the right of a state to the sovereign deliberation of its internal problems in accordance with the generally-adopted international principles is indisputable.“

Protest against activities of war criminals in Argentina. — „It is true that the Yugoslav Ambassador in Buenos Aires protested with the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs against the attack with firearms made on the building of the Yugoslav Embassy. Our Ambassador requested the Argentine Government to open investigations and again called attention to the dangerous activities of some war criminals in Argentina who fled from Yugoslavia after the war.“

Albanian Note on management of water resources. — The Albanian Envoy in Belgrade delivered a Note referring to the Agreement on the management of water resources between Yugoslavia and Albania to the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on December 22. Requested to comment on the problem, the official spokesman replied: „The note of the Albanian government is currently being examined and the press will be duly informed of the Yugoslav attitude. It may already be stated, however, that the Albanian note contains some allegations which are contrary to the actual facts. We are particularly surprised that no mention is made of the Yugoslav proposal to hold a session of the Mixed Commission on the Management of Water Resources with a view to examining the existing controversial problems. The Yugoslav Government submitted this proposal to the Albanian Government on September 1, 1959.“

Celebrations of fortieth anniversary of the plebiscite in Carinthia. — „We hope that the celebrations will be held in a manner which will not impair Yugoslav-Austrian relations.“

(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on January 8).

Our Current Account

„THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS“ HAS
CURRENT ACCOUNT AT THE NATIONAL BANK
AND IT READS

101-14

31806/123

Meetings and Talks

... On the Governmental Level

Soviet nuclear delegation visits Aleksandar Ranković. — Aleksandar Ranković, Chairman of the Federal Nuclear Energy Commission received the members of the Soviet delegation for nuclear energy headed by Lev Valentin Alekseyevich, First Deputy Chief of the Central Nuclear Energy Board of the Soviet Government on January 7. Talks were held on cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of nuclear energy.

Visit of Soviet educational delegation. — Krste Crvenkovski, Federal Executive Council Secretary for Education and Culture received the members of the Soviet cultural delegation on January 5. The delegation arrived in Yugoslavia in accordance with the cultural cooperation programme and is hereby returning the visit made by a delegation of Yugoslav educational workers to the Soviet Union last year. The Soviet cultural delegation will spend twenty days in Yugoslavia and visit various cultural and educational institutions in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Rijeka.

Krajger in Monrovia. — Sergej Krajger, the leader of the Yugoslav government delegation that attended the inauguration ceremony of the President of Liberia, visited President Tubman on January 7. The leader of the Yugoslav delegation and the Liberian President stressed the mutual wish for the closest possible cooperation and the need for a fuller recognition of the right of all countries and peoples to self-determination and free development. During his stay in Monrovia, the head of the Yugoslav delegation also met Silvanus Olympia, the leader of the delegation of Togoland, with whom he discussed the possibilities of strengthening cooperation and economic ties between Yugoslavia and Togoland.

... of the Trade Unions

Svetozar Vukmanović in Moscow. — Accompanied by his family, Svetozar Vukmanović, President of the Central Trade Union Council of Yugoslavia left on a private visit to the USSR on January 6, at the invitation of Viktor Grishin, President of the Federal Central Trade Union Council of the USSR. During his stay in the Soviet Union, Vukmanović will come in touch with trade union and other responsible functionaries and discuss mutual cooperation.

... of the Veterans' Federation

Cooperation with veterans' and disabled ex-servicemen's organisations. — The Federation of Liberation War Veterans and Disabled War Veterans of Yugoslavia developed fruitful international cooperation last year and maintained direct contacts with the veterans' organizations of many European, Asian and African countries. Delegations were exchanged with the veterans' organizations of Greece, Italy, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, Indonesia, Guinea and other countries. The representatives of the Yugoslav Veterans' Federation attended the Congress of Polish Fighters for Peace and Democracy which was held in Warsaw from September 1 to 8. The representatives of the Yugoslav Veterans and Disabled War Veterans' Federation took part last year in the Eighth Assembly of the World Veterans' Federation which has developed broad and useful activity in the social, health and cultural spheres in Asia, Europe and Asia during the past few years. The members of the Yugoslav Veterans' Federation also attended the Congress of the World Federation of Resistance Fighters and the Congress of the International Conference of Former Prisoners of War.

Other Contacts

Meetings with cooperative and agricultural functionaries. — Several foreign delegations and individual experts visited Yugoslavia last year for the purpose of gaining acquaintance with the Yugoslav cooperative movement and agriculture. A Norwegian cooperative delegation and a delegation of Polish women cooperative members arrived in Yugoslavia last year as guests of the Cooperative Federation, and the representatives of various political organizations, parliaments and other institutions from several countries visited the Cooperative Federation and many cooperative organizations in the country. The representatives of Bolivia, Italy, India, Cuba, the United Arab Republic, Poland, Japan, Kenya, Pakistan and other countries were able to study the activities and organization of peasant cooperatives and problems pertaining to the socialist transformation of rural areas. Several special foreign study groups spent some time in Yugoslavia. Apart from this, a group of Indian agricultural experts and Moroccan trade union officials studied various problems of cooperative organization and agriculture in Yugoslavia last year.

Yugoslav nuclear scientist lectures in Tokyo. — The International School for the Application of Isotopes in Tokyo finished its courses at the end of last year. The courses were attended by scholarship students of the International Atom Agency from eight Asian countries. The principal subjects were taught by Dr. Mladjenović, a Yugoslav expert for nuclear physics, and Dr. Duncan, the Australian expert for radio chemistry. The two scientists were engaged by the International Atom Agency which also organized this school. During his stay in Japan, Dr. Mladjenović also held two seminars in the nuclear research institutes at which he stated the results of his research work in the sphere of nuclear physics.

Paško Romac attends session of International Cooperative Union. — Paško Romac, Chairman of the Central Yugoslav Cooperative Federation attended the session of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Union in Paris from January 12 to 14. Various problems pertaining to the development of cooperatives in different countries and the draft of a long-term programme of the International Cooperative Union and development funds were discussed on that occasion. Other points on the agenda included the relations of the International Cooperative Union with the International Organization of Women Cooperative Members and the role of women in national and international cooperative activities.

Nenad Popović at OEEC session. — Nenad Popović, Assistant Chairman of the Yugoslav Federal Foreign Trade Committee arrived in Paris on January 11 where he will attend the two-day meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in the capacity of an observer.

Negotiations and Agreements

... Economic

Yugoslav-Albanian protocol. — A trade protocol between Yugoslavia and Albania for 1960 was signed in Tirana on December 30. The volume of trade foreseen is about two million dollars both ways.

Yugoslav-Turkish trade and payments agreement. — The trade talks between Yugoslavia and Turkey ended in Ankara on December 31. The conclusion of

the new economic instruments between the two countries opens up favourable prospects for the expansion of trade which it is estimated will reach about 16 million dollars both ways. Yugoslavia will export chemicals, products of the metal and metal processing industries, transport equipment, machines, electrical equipment and electrotechnical goods to Turkey, while importing fresh sea fish, oil seed crops, fodder, manganese and chrome ore, cement, dried and tropical fruit and other articles from that country. The new Payments Agreement provides for a more liberal mode of payments and actually marks the first step on the road to multilaterality.

Agreements with Afghanistan. — The Yugoslav trade delegation which is currently visiting India signed three agreements on economic and technical cooperation with Afghanistan by the end of 1959 and thus established regular economic relations between the two countries. According to the Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation, Yugoslavia will import cotton, wool, raw hides, pelts and furs from Afghanistan, while exporting various machines, equipment, tools, industrial goods and other articles to that country. It is also likely that Yugoslav enterprises will take part in the implementation of capital projects in Afghanistan. The Payments Agreement calls for payment in exchange dollars, thus greatly facilitating mutual trading operations. The Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation foresees the possibility of sending Yugoslav experts to Afghanistan and the training of Afghan workers and technicians in the Yugoslav enterprises. Afghanistan is particularly interested in Yugoslav participation in geological exploration and the exchange of scientific and technical information and publications.

Delivery of ships to Indonesia. — According to the contracts concluded with Indonesia, Yugoslav shipyards will deliver ten ships to Indonesia of 1000 tons DWT valued at about six million dollars. The respective contract was signed in Jakarta on January 6 by Abdul Mutali, Minister for Naval Affairs of Indonesia, and Stane Pavlic, the Yugoslav Ambassador to Indonesia. This order will be executed within the 10 million-dollar credit Yugoslavia granted to Indonesia for imports of Yugoslav capital equipment.

Austria joins Danube Convention. — Through its Chargé d'Affaires in Belgrade, the Austrian government deposited the instrument on the Austrian accession to the Convention on Danube Navigation of August 18, 1948, in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on January 7. Austria is now a full member of the Danube Convention.

Air transport agreement with Afghanistan. — An agreement on air transport between Yugoslavia and Afghanistan was signed in Belgrade on January 7. The agreement provides for the establishment of regular airlines between the two countries which will be serviced by JAT of Yugoslavia and ARIANA of Afghanistan.

Yugoslav-Bulgarian agreement on water resources. — The Yugoslav-Bulgarian Agreement on Questions of Water Resources took effect on December 30.

Agreement concluded with Brazil. — The Director General of the Yugoslav Foreign Trade Bank, Toma Granfil, concluded an agreement in Rio de Janeiro with the Brazilian Central Bank on exports of Yugoslav capital equipment to Brazil. Certain payments problems between the two countries were likewise settled on this occasion.

... Scientific and Technical Co-operation

Blueprints for two factories in Indonesia. — At the request of the competent Indonesian authorities, the Yugoslav foreign trade enterprise Invest-Import of Belgrade completed and submitted to the investors the designs, plans and blueprints for a small electric motor factory in Indonesia. The cost of the construction and installation of this factory is estimated at about 1.1 million dollars, of which the machine plant alone is valued at about 400,000 dollars. According to the draft project, the electric motors would be built under patent licence of the Sever factory of Subotica, while the necessary machines and installations should be delivered by several Yugoslav factories.

Legal convention with Poland. — Talks were opened in Warsaw on January 11 on the conclusion of a Convention on Legal Assistance between Poland and Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav enterprise to build harbour in Syria. — The Minister of Public Works of the Syrian Province of the United Arab Republic, Nuredin Kahala, and the Chief Engineer of the Yugoslav Naval Construction Enterprise „Pomgrad“ of Split, Frane Zic, signed a contract on the construction of the big Tartus harbour project which will become the principal seaport of central and southern Syria. The entire project is valued at 9 million dollars, of which Yugoslavia will provide 4.5 million on credit. „Pomgrad“ of Split has already successfully taken part in the construction of the Latakia and Minet el Beyda harbour projects in Syria.

THE Egyptian Economic and Political Review

AUTHORITATIVE OPINIONS ON EGYPTIAN AND MIDDLE EAST BUSINESS

*Analysis of Political
and Economic Issues*

Documentation on:
Economics • Industry • Commerce
New Laws • Statistics

Yearly Subscription: L. E. 2

Published by:

The Egyptian Economic and Political Review

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Treaty with Special UN Fund. — Moma Marković, Secretary for Labour of the Federal Executive Council, signed an agreement with the Special UN Fund and International Labour Organization on the allocation of financial assistance for the construction of special centres for the training of technical instructors. The agreement was signed by the UN representative in Yugoslavia Henri Laurentie on behalf of the special fund.

... Cultural

Cultural cooperation with Bulgaria. — A programme of cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in 1960 was signed in Sofia on December 30, 1959. The programme calls for the exchange of cultural and scientific delegations, artists, etc. Broader cooperation will be established between the organizations of writers, artists, composers and theatre workers of the two countries. The programme also calls for the exchange of books and publications between the publishing houses and the translation of works by Yugoslav and Bulgarian authors.

Yugoslav-Iraqi cultural cooperation. — The programme of Yugoslav-Iraqi cultural cooperation in 1960 was signed in Baghdad on January 3. This instrument calls for the exchange of students, cultural delegations and journalists, the organization of art exhibitions and the exchange of films and newsreels. An Iraqi agricultural delegation will visit Yugoslavia this year for the purpose of studying Yugoslav agricultural development. The programme was drawn up in accordance with the Yugoslav-Iraqi convention on cultural cooperation which was ratified last November.

Agreements signed with publishers' associations of Poland, East Germany and Bulgaria. — The association of Yugoslav publishing enterprises concluded an agreement with the Polish publishing organizations on January 8 which calls for the expansion of mutual cooperation and exchange of delegations in 1960. Similar agreements for 1960 were also signed with the publishing organizations of East Germany and Bulgaria. These agreements likewise foresee the translations of the best works in all fields of literature, the exchange of annual publishing plans and other materials and information.

News in Brief

Industrial Development

⊙ In terms of industrial development Yugoslavia is at the head of the European countries. These data were published in the official report of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. According to preliminary estimates, Yugoslav industrial production in 1959 was 13 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Military Budget

⊙ Budget expenditure of the State Secretariat for National Defence for 1960 is planned at 207.1 billion dinars (\$ 1=300 dinars), or only 8.58 of the national income, which is 0.93 per cent less than in 1958. This is the lowest percentage for defence outlay in the Yugoslav national income so far.

Military Industry to produce Consumer Goods

⊙ The factories of the Yugoslav military industry have steadily increased production of consumer goods during the past few years. According to the programme drawn up for

1960 the military enterprises will raise production of goods for the requirements of the civilian population by 30 per cent, as compared with 1959. Output of motor cars and all types of motors, typewriters and other machines, cameras, household thermal appliances and bicycles are stated for the more rapid increase.

Coal

⊙ The Yugoslav coalmines yielded more coal during the 1959 January–October period than in the whole of 1953, and 13 per cent more than in 1958. Over 20 million tons of coal were mined in 1959, thus more than trebling the 1953 production figures.

Farm Mechanization

⊙ According to the draft Economic Plan for 1960 the Yugoslav agricultural organizations will purchase about 5,000 tractors and many attachments for the mechanized cultivation of certain crops. By the end of 1960 the Yugoslav agriculture will have at its disposal about 3,000 tractors, thus enabling the complete mechanization of the most important farming operations on the big socialist holdings and the surfaces cultivated in cooperation between individual peasants and farm cooperatives.

Investments

⊙ A total of 67.4 billion dinars, or the equivalent of one fourth of the total resources of the General Investment Fund, will be invested in 1960 in the development of the under-developed regions of Yugoslavia — Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo-Metohia.

⊙ According to the five-year plan, many industrial projects will be built in Macedonia. About 76.6 thousand million dinars will be invested for this purpose. The resources allotted will be used for the construction and general overhaul of 35 industrial projects, including a steel mill and two chemical factories.

⊙ Of the 77 thousand million dinars earmarked for the economic development of Montenegro during the 1957–1961 period, 50 thousand million will be spent on the construction or reconstruction of industrial projects, 25 thousand million and two thousand million on agriculture. The industrial projects to be built in this republic include two hydro-electric projects, three mines, the biggest Yugoslav factory of sulphate cellulose, one iron works and a shipyard.

⊙ A total 50 thousand million dinars will be invested in the development of the Kosovo-Metohia region during 1957–1961, of which 24 thousand million will be expended on industrial projects and 19 thousand million on agriculture while the remainder will be distributed among the other economic branches.

⊙ The construction of a big chemical works in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, will begin this year. The factory will manufacture chlorine, caustic soda and various plant protection agents. When in operation, this factory will enable annual Yugoslav imports of certain chemicals to be reduced by about 2.7 thousand million dinars.

⊙ About five thousand million dinars will be invested in 1960 for the completion and construction of various economic projects in Istria (Slovenia), thus greatly increasing the economic potential of this region. A high-grade cement factory will be completed, and the construction of a building materials factory initiated. The plan also foresees the erection of a big brick kilns and salt works.

⊙ The Yugoslav Investment Bank allotted the funds for the implementation of the construction programme of the

Majdanpek—Bor biggest metallurgical works in Yugoslavia. These works, which are scheduled for completion in 1962, will have an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of copper, 575,000 tons of super phosphate, and will also yield a series of by-products such as silver, cryolite, pyrite concentrate, etc. Total annual output will be valued at about 38 million dollars annually.

Imports-Exports

⊙ The Yugoslav textile factories sold about 500,000 dollars worth of their products to Indonesia in 1959, most of which have already been delivered to the Indonesian buyers.

⊙ Yugoslav enterprises sold 14 billion 400 million dollars worth of goods in November or 900 million dollars more than in the same month last year. Total Yugoslav exports during January—November 1959 are valued at 126 billion 500 million dinars, as against 116 billion 300 million dinars during the corresponding period last year.

⊙ The British Board of Trade has approved certain changes in the regulations governing commodity imports from the dollar area and Western Europe. According to these, imports of wooden office and school equipment, calcium carbide, women's hosiery, toys, sport goods, and polished, engraved or gold enamelled glass ware to Great Britain will henceforth be free. Consequently these Yugoslav exports to Great Britain are no longer subject to import licences.

⊙ The „Borovo“ rubber and shoe works sold about half a million pairs of leather and rubber shoes abroad last year. The Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt were the foremost importers of these goods. Many inquiries for the products of the „Borovo“ factory were also received from other Asian and African countries by the end of last year.

Inventions

⊙ Judging by the number of patents registered with the Yugoslav Patent Office, inventions in Yugoslavia are on the increase. A total 500 inventions were patented from the Liberation to 1952, about 1,700 up to 1957, while 1,700 patents were registered in 1959, or almost six times more than in 1952.

⊙ Dr. Franković, Professor of Zagreb University, designed a special turbine for hydro-electric stations which enables the maximum utilisation of water power in the generation of electricity known so far.

Personal Income

⊙ Net personal income during January—October 1959 totaled 498.2 billion dinars, that is to say, 101 billion dinars, or 25 per cent more than in the corresponding period of 1958.

Savings

⊙ Individual savings deposits of Yugoslav citizens have increased notably during the past few years. There were 46 billion 647 million dinars of savings deposits at the end of 1958, or 15 billion dinars more than at the end of 1957.

Industrial Use of Radio Isotopes

⊙ Nuclear techniques were most successfully used in industrial defectoscopy in Yugoslavia. The defectoscopy centres in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Rijeka and Sarajevo organized by the Federal Nuclear Energy Commission enabled savings of about three billion dinars to be made last year by the 50,000

defectoscopy tests carried out. Radio isotopes are currently used in fifteen Yugoslav enterprises and five factories are engaged in the manufacture of electronic apparatus and other equipment required.

Transport

⊙ The Kvarner Lines of Rijeka opened a regular fortnightly service to Israel. These ships will mainly transport timber and meat products on their outward journey and carry citrus fruit, rubber, and artificial fertilizer on their homeward trip.

⊙ The Yugoslav railways will get ten new electric-powered locomotives and over 2,000 freight, passenger, refrigerator and tank carriages this year. Besides this, railway transport will be strengthened by 29 diesel locomotives and 30 complete motor trains.

⊙ The Yugoslav voluntary youth brigades will build several sections of the „Brotherhood and Unity“ motor road leading through Serbia and Macedonia. These sections will be about 104 kilometers long in all. When completed the 1,370 kilometre-long Brotherhood and Unity highway will link Ljubljana with Djerdjelija.

⊙ This year international bus lines will link the best-known Yugoslav tourist resorts with several Italian and Austrian cities. Ten bus lines will be maintained with Italy and eleven with Austria.

Production

⊙ The autumn sowing operations have been successfully completed in Yugoslavia. Wheat was sown on about two million hectares, while high-yielding varieties will be grown on 820,000 hectares. High-yielding varieties of wheat were sown on 500,000 hectares more than last autumn.

⊙ The socialist sector of Yugoslav agriculture accounts for 33.5 per cent of the total farmland. According to current estimates, these surfaces will yield 67 per cent of total farm production.

⊙ The „Boris Kidrič“ factory of Maribor will build standard international railway refrigerator cars. The first series of ten carriages has already left the factory and another 200 such carriages will be built this year. The new refrigerator cars, with frames of Yugoslav aluminium, are built for speeds up to 140 kilometers per hour. Storage capacity is 19 tons of meat.

Social Management

⊙ About one million citizens worked in the bodies of social management in Yugoslavia last year. This means that every tenth adult Yugoslav was a member of some body of self-government.

⊙ About 250,000 Yugoslav citizens were members of school boards and councils, various managing boards of publishing houses, theatres and libraries in 1959.

⊙ The bodies of workers' management numbered 220,000 members in 1959.

⊙ The managing boards and cooperative councils of peasant cooperatives had 168,000 members in 1959, of which 125,000 were peasants and 43,000 workers. About 56,700 agricultural producers took part in the activities of the local committees.

⊙ There were 38,340 citizens in the people's committee councils of the communes, local bodies of self government, not including the committeemen who are members of various communal councils.

Culture and Education

⑤ The Yugoslav motion picture enterprise „Lovćen Film“ of Budva (Montenegro) concluded a contract with „Eurovision“ on the shooting of thirteen short documentary films entitled „Yugoslavia Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow“. The films will be shot during the first half of the year.

⑥ The „Kolo“ Serbian folk dance ensemble returned to the country after a four-month tour of Asia, Australia and the United Arab Republic. The members of the troupe covered over 50,000 kilometers and gave 104 concerts in various cities of Japan, Indonesia, Australia, India and the United Arab Republic.

⑦ A total 18,228 degrees have been awarded at Belgrade University during the past six years, or an average 3,000 degrees annually. The number of graduates was highest in 1959 as testified by the 3,945 degrees awarded.

Chronicle of Political Events

December 30 — The Federal Executive Council appointed Sergej Krajer, member of the Council and former Secretary for Industry, President of the Foreign Trade Committee. Federal Executive Council member Ljubo Babić was relieved of his duties as President of the Foreign Trade Committee in order to assume new functions in the Federal Executive Council. Federal Executive Council member Hasan Brkić was appointed Secretary for Industry. Rudi Kolak, President of the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade was appointed Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Trade Committee. According to a decision of the Federal Executive Council, Milorad Zorić Under Secretary of State, Chief of the Personnel Administration of the Federal Executive Council, was appointed to the Committee for Budget and Civil Service Affairs.

December 30 — The Committee for Foreign Economic Relations was formed according to a decision brought by the Federal Executive Council. Federal Executive Council member Vladimir Popović was appointed Chairman of the Committee.

January 1 — President Josip Broz Tito broadcast his New Year's message to the peoples of Yugoslavia, in which he also stated that the Yugoslav peoples might rightly be proud of the results accomplished in the face of enormous difficulties.

Diplomatic Diary

December 29 — The first Yugoslav ad interim Chargé d'Affaires left for Guinea.

January 6 — President Josip Broz Tito received the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India, Ali Jawar Jang, who requested an audience.

January 7 — The Ethiopian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Belgrade requested an audience and was received by President Josip Broz Tito.

January 7 — The Turkish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Belgrade requested an audience and was received by President Tito.

January 9 — President Josip Broz Tito received Mustafa Vilović, the Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Morocco.

January 10 — Ilija Topaloski was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Tunisia by Decree of the President of the Republic.

January 10 — President Josip Broz Tito received Ilija Topaloski the newly-appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Tunisia.

Our New Contributors

JACQUES VAN OFFELEN: Belgian Minister for Foreign Trade. Doctor of Economics and university professor. Member of Parliament since 1958. Member of the Commission for Economic Affairs and Foreign Trade of the House of Representatives, and Vice-President of the Commission for Economic Affairs of the Liberal Party. Author of many books on economic matters. Was Belgian representative in the Economic-Social Committee of U. N., and member of economic missions to Poland, China, Morocco etc.

SIVERT NIELSEN: Ambassador, permanent representative of Norway in U.N. From 1946 till 1948 worked in the Political Department of the Secretariat of the U.N.O., later was Secretary of Norwegian Embassy in Washington and Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Defence.

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The review is published fortnightly in:

Serbo-Croat
English
German
French
and Russian